

Illinois U Library

MARCH 31, 1953

59th BROADCAST

Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast by 310 Stations of the ABC Radio Network



U. S. Pat. Off.

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

U. S. Editors Report on Europe and the Middle East

Moderator, GUNNAR BACK

S p e a k e r s

JANE STRETCH

JULIUS GIUS

—★—
COMING

—April 14, 1953—

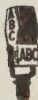
**Is Big Business a Peril to American
Free Enterprise?**

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 36, N. Y.

VOLUME 18, NUMBER 45



\$5.00 A YEAR, 15c A COPY



Town Meeting

VOL. 18

No. 45



U. S. Editors Report on Europe and the Middle East

The Broadcast of March 31, 1953, from 9:00 to 9:45 p.m., over the American Broadcasting Company Radio Network, originated from the ABC Radio Studio, 39 West 66th Street, New York City, New York.

The account of the meeting reported in this Bulletin was transcribed from recordings made of the actual broadcast and represents the exact content of the meeting as nearly as such mechanism permits. The publishers and printer are not responsible for the statements of the speakers or the points of views presented.

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

In a departure from our customary format of two to four speakers debating an issue, with the discussion period open to audience participation, this week's "Town Meeting" features a special report from ten U.S. radio and newspaper editors, just returned from a 28-day tour of Europe and the Middle East. Led by James L. Wick, publisher of the Niles, Ohio *Daily Times* and other dailies, the group—all from non-metropolitan areas of the country—was invited by "Town Meeting" to report its observations to the American people.

Heard as principal spokesmen on the broadcast were MISS JANE STRETCH of the Camden, New Jersey *Daily Courier-Post* and JULIUS GIUS who is associated with the John P. Scripps newspapers: Bremerton, Washington *Sun*; Ventura Calif. *Star-Free Press*; Watsonville, Calif. *Register-Pajaronian*; Reading, Calif. *Record-Searchlight*; San Luis Obispo, Calif. *Telegram-Tribune* and Tulare, Calif. *Advance-Register*.

The other participants were:

L. L. COLEMAN—*Mobridge Tribune*, Mobridge, S.D.

NICHOLAS IFTT, II—*Herald-Journal*, Logan, Utah; *State Journal* and KJRL, Pocatello, Idaho; *Interlake*, Kalispell, Montana; *The Chronicle*, Dallas, Oregon.

NICHOLAS IFFT, III—*Daily Herald*, Provo, Utah.

A. W. SCHWEIDER—*KID*, Idaho Falls, Idaho.

LESTER R. EDWARDS—*Bradford Era* and WESB, Bradford, Pa.

RONALD B. WOODYARD—*WONE*, Dayton, Ohio.

ROBERT M. SPEIDEL—*Times Delta*, Visalia, California; *Californian*, Salinas, California; *Coloradoan*, Fort Collins, Colorado; *New Yorker*, Poughkeepsie, New York; *Gazette*, Reno, Nevada; *Gazette*, Chillicothe, Ohio; *Press Citizen*, Iowa City, Iowa.

DON ROWLEY—*Star-Beacon* and WICA, Ashtabula, Ohio; *News-Herald*, Conneaut, Ohio; *Telegraph*, Painesville, Ohio, *Free Press*, Geneva, Ohio.

Town Meeting is published weekly at 32 S. Fourth St., Columbus 15, Ohio, by The Town Hall, Inc., New York 36, New York. Send subscriptions and single copy orders to Town Hall, New York 36, N.Y.

Subscription price, \$5.00 a year, (Canada, \$6.00); six months, \$3.00, (Canada, \$3.50); eight weeks, \$1.00, (Canada, \$1.20); 15c a single copy. Entered as second-class matter May 9, 1942, at the Post Office at Columbus, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Copyright, 1953, BY THE TOWN HALL, INC.

U. S. Editors Report on Europe and the Middle East

Announcer:

Tonight Town Meeting pauses in its spring tour to bring you a unique and timely discussion by a group of American newspaper and radio editors who have just returned from an extensive tour of Europe and the Middle East. These men and women visited many of the cities which were on Town Meeting's world tour itinerary in 1949. Tonight they will bring you a first-hand report of their observations during the past month.

Under the direction of James L. Wick, the editors represent newspapers and radio stations from coast to coast—the grass roots of the nation. Mr. Wick, publisher of four daily newspapers and chairman of the board of the Rome, Italy, *Daily American*, and nine other members of the tour are en route to Moscow and will return to the United States next week. They will be heard on a special program over ABC upon their return. Town Hall pays tribute to the editors for their mission which will result in a better-informed America.

Now to preside as moderator for tonight's discussion here is ABC's well-known Washington news reporter, Gunnar Back. Mr. Back!

Mr. Back:

In bringing you these discussions every week, Town Hall and ABC feel it is their obligation to give a hearing to fresh, first-hand and authoritative viewpoints on the important questions of our time. We occasionally vary the procedure in order to make what we feel is the most effective presentation of a particular subject, and that's what we are doing to-

night. We don't have a usual Town Meeting topic, but we expect to cover several different subjects during the next 45 minutes. We don't have the usual two, three or four principal speakers; tonight we have ten speakers.

With us in the New York studios are ten newspaper editors and publishers and radio station news editors who have spent the past 28 days on a tour of Europe and the Middle East. You might call these newsmen grass-roots editors. They represent in great part newspapers and radio stations in non-metropolitan areas. Led by James L. Wick, publisher of several daily newspapers, the editors have traveled 18,000 miles since February 27. They have visited Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Italy, France, and the United Kingdom. They have talked with heads of state and with the people of these nations. They have been seeing and they have been hearing for themselves and now they are here, just off the plane, to share their experiences with you.

Ten of their group are remaining abroad to spend a week in the Soviet Union, the first contingent of American newspapermen to be admitted to Russia in several years. They will return to the United States next week and will be heard over ABC in an exclusive report of their visit to Moscow. Tonight we will discuss this particular phase of the editors' tour, as well as the observations gathered during the past few weeks in the news capitals of Europe and the Middle East. Now let's get your impression of what you all saw and heard in Western Europe first.

Here is Julius Gius, Editor of the *Bremerton Sun*, in the state of Washington, and a representative of the John Scripps Newspapers on the Pacific coast.

Mr. Gius:

Thank you, Mr. Back. As I review the experiences of our party's whirlwind visit to ten countries in Europe and the Middle East, one impression is particularly dominant in my mind. It is this, that these countries bordering on the Iron Curtain not only look for political leadership from the United States of America but that they have confidence in it.

That situation, to my mind, poses a tremendous obligation upon us, an obligation unquestionably greater than any that our young nation has ever faced. I know that it is no news to Town Hall listeners that an America that emerged out of the cocoon of isolationism less than a decade ago is now the dominant power of the free democratic world. It is my impression that we have taken over the mantle of leadership that the British Empire held for generations preceding World War II.

So it was highly significant to me during this twenty-eight day trip to observe the spirit in which the several free European nations are accepting American guidance for mutual security. We had an opportunity to meet with men in the highest positions of government, Adenauer of West Germany, Figl of Austria, Jilos of Yugoslavia, Papagos and Markezelis in Greece, Naguib in Egypt, cabinet members in Italy, President Auriol, Schuman and Plevin in France, Eden in Great Britain. We asked each of them bluntly and frankly to assess the United States position in their respective countries. We asked them if their people nurse

fears that the American assistance program might be the foundation of imperialistic encroachment. We asked if our political position was improving or deteriorating.

In every case—now mark you well, without exception—the response was favorable to the United States position. They did not fear imperialism. They approve our goals. The attitude of respect and friendship was repeatedly emphasized. In my book, this represented a far more whole-hearted endorsement of our foreign policy in Europe than I had dared to expect.

The foundation of this attitude of confidence, it seems to me, becomes apparent when we take a little time to retrace the recent history of some of the nations. The leaders of Greece and Italy, for example, told us with deep conviction that except for the United States assistance in the starvation years immediately following World War II their countries would have turned to Communism. They made no ifs or buts about it. They said in very plain words that Communism would have overrun their countries except for American aid which did two vastly important things.

First, it restored balance to a crippled and despairing economy, and second, indicated to these war-ravaged peoples that their lot was not an altogether futile one and that there was good reason for a rebirth of national confidence.

Now it is important, I think, that we not overlook the moral factor involved when we try to make an assessment of our assistance program. Since Communism breeds on despair and human misery, the part that the loaf of bread that we sent or the pound of meat or the bundle of farm

implements, the part that those things played in weighting the delicate scale between the free world and the slave world cannot be underestimated.

It might be expected, I presume, that the British, who have traditionally ruled the waves and thereby much of the world, would be resentful of America's new-found role in international leadership. Perhaps that feeling exists in some circles. I certainly would not dispute with our American Embassy personnel who told us that it does to a small degree.

But I think it is worth noting that the official British position does not tend in this direction in the least. I feel that I can say without breaching the off-record stipulation of Anthony Eden, the British Secretary of State—Foreign Affairs—that his nation reposes great confidence in us, a confidence born of common understanding over the generations and buttressed in particular by the Anglo-American experiences of the past decade.

This is an assuring compliment of tremendous proportions, that in the experienced judgment of the British, we are not being brash or going off the deep end or otherwise complicating the situation beyond recovery, as we know the relatively untested mind is often likely to do.

I just skimmed the surface of impressions in Europe, but it is my conclusion that this all makes for a strong case for American foreign policy, for what was the Truman Doctrine in aiding Greece and Turkey at their point of deepest despair, for the Marshall Plan and its successors, the ECA, and now the Mutual Security Administration.

We poured billions of dollars, American tax dollars, into Europe. There has been waste—I have no

doubt of it; there probably still is. I would not by any means attempt to justify the entire means of the assistance program's implementation, but the program itself is one for which I have a new appreciation on the basis of what I have seen and heard in the past month in company with the other editors who have made this tour.

I think our program has paid off immeasurably by strengthening our military hand in the West, and the great by-product of it has been the delegation of the free world's leadership to America. I think that my colleagues will agree with me that this leadership task is the one to which we must now dedicate ourselves.

Mr. Back: Well thank you very much, Mr. Gius, Editor of the *Bremerton, Washington, Sun*. You've presented a very optimistic picture.

Eight of your colleagues who have made the journey with you are waiting here and it may be that some of these want to challenge the optimism of your picture. They may want to elaborate and qualify in various ways, but before we hear from your colleagues let's turn now to the general impressions that your party was able to get after traveling through the Middle East.

And for that we'd like to hear Miss Jane Stretch of the *Camden Courier-Post*. Miss Stretch.

Miss Stretch:

Well, we spent, I should say, about seven days in three different Middle-Eastern countries, and it is very hard to come out as experts. However, we all were tremendously impressed with, first, the fact that there are new governments in each of the three countries where we stayed, and those new governments

are all controlled by strong men, two of them military men.

They are governments that are now going through tremendous social and economic revolutions, and they are controlled by military men because they had to overthrow, in some cases, old and established feudal ruling classes.

Secondly, the big problem, the second biggest important point, is the Arab refugee problem, and believe me, we were inundated with that problem. Everywhere we went we were taken from one refugee camp to another, and I must say that in comparison to the Arab refugees the Berlin refugees "never had it so good." At least the Berlin refugees know that they have a destination and that someone in the world wants them.

The Arab refugee is sitting in despair in the middle of the desert and he is multiplied a million times, and no one wants him. He has nowhere to turn and he is not allowed to go back to his own home because the United Nations, which made a decision in 1948 that they should go back to Israel, has not implemented that decision. And for that, the United States is being held responsible by the governments of Egypt and Syria and Lebanon.

Certainly this ties in, I think, with our relationship as a world power. We have got to look to the Middle East for a defense buttress. The main question that was put to us by the government leaders in these Arab countries was, "why are you risking the friendship of forty million Arabs for a shilly-shallying policy on the refugee problem?"

The third big thing that we all noticed in the Middle East is the tremendous reconstruction that is going on, the tremendous building

and housing and land-reformation that is taking place, throughout Egypt and Lebanon and Syria. For the first time, I should say, in centuries the people of Egypt have a hope in Naguib. He is the first human being, or ruler, or governing power, that seems to take a genuine interest in the people of Egypt. They've been downtrodden for hundreds and hundreds of years, and they have lived in the most horrible poverty, and Naguib is given credit by everyone, including the British, for the utmost integrity and for a great sincerity of purpose.

Mr. Back: Well thanks very much, Miss Stretch. I think perhaps you have raised a question, since it is the most immediate one, one that we can take up right away, and that is, how are we going to solve this problem of the Arabs and the state of Israel. Will the editors now come in, the other people on the tour, and perhaps suggest—either elaborate on Miss Jane Stretch's point or perhaps offer their opinions as to what might be the solution?

Do I have a volunteer from the editors who are sitting around the microphone? All right, I'm very glad to hear from Mr. L. L. Coleman, of Mobridge in South Dakota. You're with the Mobridge *Tribune*, and, Mr. Coleman, what was your observation and do you have any ideas on what the solution might be?

Mr. Coleman:

It is a double-barrelled situation in that the Arabs are determined that they will hold tight until they are permitted to return to Palestine. However, we were assured by observers in that country that that is their front more than anything else, and that if they were permitted to return, there

would be only a small, a reasonable proportion of them who would insist on going back to Palestine. The others would be willing to accept payment for their homes and their lands which have been taken over by the Israelites. And I think that it would be possible to work out a compromise if a peace could be arranged between the Arabs and the Jews.

Mr. Back: Before you leave the microphone, I was just wondering, Mr. Coleman, what will be the editorial line you think you'll take when you come back to the *Mobridge Tribune*. What will you urge the Government to do?

Mr. Coleman: That the United Nations agreement worked out several years ago be carried out and then, you might say, call the bluff of the Arabs, if it is a bluff. If we don't do that there is a possibility that these forty million Arabs will line up with the Communists, and that was a veiled threat that we heard through those three countries.

Mr. Back: Well thanks very much, Mr. Coleman. Here is Nicholas Ifft III, who is with the paper in Provo, Utah. Are you interested in talking about the Arab-Israeli problem?

Mr. Ifft, III: Yes, sir, I am. I don't want to carry on much longer on the problem, but I would like to emphasize that it is something I believe should be taken into consideration immediately. The conditions that we saw these people living under are, I believe, the most terrible of anything I have ever seen.

Mr. Back: You're talking about the refugees?

Mr. Ifft, III: The refugees.

Mr. Back: Out of Israel?

Mr. Ifft, III: Out of Israel.

Mr. Back: Yes.

Mr. Ifft, III: And for five years they've been living in tents on grass mats with few blankets, with very little in the way of any sort of facilities. I know particularly when we were in Syria we stood ankle deep in mud and watched these people move around under conditions that are completely untenable.

Mr. Back: Well, sir, what do you think is the solution to handling that refugee problem, and what responsibility do you think the Arab world has and what responsibility does Israel have? Had you thought about that?

Mr. Ifft, III: Well, I have thought about it, sir, but so have a great number of other people, I believe. The only possible solution I can see, and that, depending upon the Arabs' acceptance of it, is resettlement for most of these people, because it is not my belief that they will be able to move back into Palestine and live together under the same roof, because too many of their possessions have already been taken away.

Mr. Back: Thanks very much. That was Nicholas Ifft III of the *Daily Herald* in Provo, Utah. I will get to the point very shortly of some challenge perhaps to the two major positions taken, but here is Mr. Arthur Schweider of Idaho Falls in Idaho, and what is your comment?

Mr. Schweider: I feel also that it should be up to the United Nations, and our nation especially, to take the lead in helping to work out a proper solution of this deplorable situation that exists. Never in all of my life have I seen such poverty and such filth and such horrible conditions with which these Arab refugees live.

However, I do see that there are two sides to the question. The Arabs say this, that they will not leave unless they can go back to their own homes. They do not want compensation, but they want to return to their own homes and be reinstated in the homes which they left, the homes which their ancestors lived in for many hundreds of years. I feel that a plan of re-establishment and re-education on their part should be worked out by the United Nations so that compensation can be made to relocate these refugees in various sections of the Arab countries where they can be rehabilitated and given new homes and new hope in life.

Mr. Back: Mr. Schweider, if you'll stay at the microphone—you're with KID of Idaho Falls, Idaho—I want to ask this final question before we turn to other matters. You would say then that any solution, any ending of the armed truce now existing between the Arab world and Israel, any solution to the problem is going to take long, patient negotiation. You don't envision a flare-up of the war again?

Mr. Schweider: No, I do not. I think—that is, not unless some action is taken in the near future. These people look to Eisenhower and our present administration with a great deal of hope, and they do hold the threat that unless some solution is worked out, that they will take it in their own hands.

Mr. Back: Thanks very much, Mr. Schweider. Now let's see if there is any comment or challenge to the opening statements from Miss Stretch and Mr. Gius on Western Europe and on the Middle East. This is Mr. Don Rowley

of Ashtabula, Ohio, of the Rowley newspapers in Northeastern Ohio.

Mr. Rowley: Certainly when you get ten editors or twenty editors or one hundred editors together, you are not going to get an agreement of opinion. And I noticed on this trip we haven't had an agreement of opinion on many things we've talked about or seen.

Mr. Gius painted a picture of Europe and what was going on there. I think he failed to stress one point, that is the condition of our State Department. I think generally our State Department is being run fine, but there was evidence in many cases where there was fat within the Department, especially within the Information Department and the press boys of the State Department. I think that our Government should look into this branch of the service and examine it very carefully. There is another phase of the foreign service. We have many fine men in the service.

Mr. Woodyard and myself, along with other editors, had opportunity to talk to the Ambassadors of all the countries of Europe and the Middle East—with the exception of Italy, where we were only given brief consideration. These men in the foreign service do have a tough time and many of them in these far-flung outposts are lonesome and their assignments are tough. However, in many of these cities they do have it good. And we found that there was a duplication of work between the Embassy and the MSA.

I was told by correspondents and men who had been studying the situation, men not in connection with the government, that the work done by the press and information men of many embassies

was duplicated twice in the other branches of the foreign service. I think that this is part of the fat that we can clean off our foreign service, and with no discredit to the work of the many fine men who are in the State Department.

Mr. Back: All right, Mr. Rowley, thanks very much. Perhaps somebody wants to comment on what Mr. Rowley just said, and here is Mr. Edwards of the *Bradford Era* in Bradford, Pennsylvania. Are you going to talk on the theme of how the State Department is functioning?

Mr. Edwards: Mr. Back, I should like to say just a couple of words along the lines Mr. Rowley brought up, and that is in justification of our new administration in Washington. I think, in going around as we have from one country to another, we have found almost unanimously that the State Department under Mr. Dulles is making every effort to start to whittle down, to cut out, some of this fat Mr. Rowley speaks of, and get down to a more business-like administration.

I know that Mr. Stassen in his recent trip abroad has emphasized that same fact in almost all the countries he has called upon.

Mr. Back: I am sorry to interrupt, Mr. Edwards, but I wanted to get to the Voice of America now. You've been overseas and you've seen its operations and you've talked to people who listen to the Voice. What is your impression of the effectiveness of the Voice of America?

Mr. Edwards: I think, Mr. Back, that Mr. Woodyard could cover that situation far better than could I. I simply feel, in my observation over there, that the Voice of America has been very much dis-

credited. I don't think we came back with anything very good to say about it. I think in going from one country to another we found it's not very effective. I think my own observation is that it could very easily be cut out without any grave loss, but as I say, I think Mr. Woodyard is very much more competent to talk on that subject than might I be. I have one little radio station; he has several.

Mr. Back: Well, Mr. Woodyard, of Dayton, Ohio, of WONE, are you taking the same side as Mr. Edwards?

Mr. Woodyard: To a certain extent, yes. First, I would like to disagree with Mr. Gius, if I may. With all due respect to the intellectual ability of Mr. Gius—and I am sure that he has plenty because he is an editor and I am not—frankly, I think when the story is unfolded of the Truman-Acheson foreign policy, that the American people will be shocked.

And I would like to recall to these colleagues in here this afternoon where they heard one of our high government officials off the record make statements that were shocking to each and every member of this party who heard those statements, in which he stated that the foreign policy had not been carried on by the State Department, but in certain particular instances had been made a part of the political policy of this country.

Now I think that when the American people learn those facts and when they are brought home over the years to come, that they are going to be deeply shocked at what has taken place abroad.

In regard to the expenditure of money where the Voice of America is concerned, I think somebody

should come back who really knows the facts and explain to the American people what has been done with their dollar abroad, and I would like to just make one statement while I am here.

We have one single radio station in Berlin, and I think most of the people seated around here this afternoon know something about radio. That radio station has an appropriation of \$3,565,000 operating budget this year, with over six hundred employees, and that is one of the particular things abroad that I think should be investigated.

Mr. Back: Thank you, Mr. Woodyard. I myself had the promise in another broadcast in Washington of Senator Mundt that those things would be investigated, and I think Mr. Edwards indicated that under the new Secretary of State he felt that there would be some changes made.

Mr. Edwards, do you want to return?

Mr. Edwards: I'll just add another word, Mr. Back. I think that the consensus of opinion among us is that the whole German situation—not only RIAS, not only the Voice of America—needs considerable investigation. We were absolutely astounded about the money being spent over there in that country, and very much disappointed, disheartened, and feel that something should be done about it, and I am sure a number of us are going to tell our Senators and our Congressmen about the situation.

Now when you get beyond Germany, in many of the other countries, I think that most of us, at least a great many of us, are very, very much heartened at the way the money is being spent. I think it is doing a lot of good. I think

in Greece we've done a tremendous job, and a number of other countries as well.

Mr. Back: I don't want to stay on the Voice of America too long, but I would like to ask whether any editor here wants to say something for the Voice of America, the kind of thing it has done as you saw it. Mr. Gius?

Mr. Gius: Well thank you, Mr. Back. I not only want to say that I think the Voice of America has done a tremendously important job, but I would also like to ask my colleagues, Mr. Edwards and Mr. Woodyard, if they would discontinue the Voice and discontinue the American psychological warfare program entirely as long as the Russians continue to conduct their program? Do they feel there is economic and political justification for America to discontinue its psychological warfare in the face of what Russia is doing?

Mr. Back: Mr. Nicholas Ifft, I think, of Provo, Utah, who is with the *Daily Herald*, wants to answer you, Mr. Gius.

Mr. Nicholas Ifft, III: I would like to make just one comment on that—very short. And that is that if the Voice is behind the Iron Curtain, fine. To substantiate my point, let's take Greece, where in talking to some people we asked them, "Do you listen to the Voice?" And they said, "We've heard the Voice, it's fine, but we prefer our own stations."

Mr. Gius: I would like to remind you, too, Nick, that the Voice is not intended for the people in the Western scope. The Voice is intended to reach behind the Iron Curtain, to reach the areas in which Russia exerts its influence.

I also will recall to your mind

that we were told in several instances that there was evidence that the Voice was reaching people. Mayor Reuter of Berlin told us that people were coming, the refugees were coming, out of the East Berlin area and out of the East Zone of Germany because they had been just given the word.

Mr. Back: One quick rejoinder there and we have to stop just a moment. Do you have anything further you want to say, Mr. Ifft?

Mr. Ifft, III: Well I would like to say that as long as the Voice is behind the Iron Curtain, it seems to me they are spending money in the countries that are not behind the Iron Curtain. The medium that seemed to us to be reaching behind the Iron Curtain was RIAS, with only an hour's time of the Voice of America.

Mr. Back: I want to turn to Miss Jane Stretch of the Camden *Courier-Post* in Camden, New Jersey, to ask this question: What was the effect of Stalin's death among the people in the countries you visited and among the leaders? What was the impression?

Miss Stretch: Well, the first moment we heard it we were just walking into an interview with Chancellor Adenauer of Germany. His reaction was that he hoped that it would give Western Europe a little breathing space. In Austria, the people seemed rather phlegmatic about the situation.

I think our funniest reaction was when we facetiously asked Tito's deputies why the flags were not flying at half-mast in Yugoslavia as well as in the rest of Europe, and they just threw their heads back and roared laughing and said, "We're not on very friendly terms."

Mr. Back: As you know, the French Prime Minister has been in this country, Miss Stretch, and I understand that the general agreement here is that the change in leadership in Moscow is something worth watching but it doesn't mean anything. Would you say that's the general impression overseas?

Miss Stretch: I think for the time being, I think it's a period of watching, and I think most all of them seem to agree that Malenkov is going to need at least six months to knit his forces together.

Mr. Back: I don't think we have heard from Mr. Nicholas Ifft II. Tell us something about the editors in your party that are having a chance to go to Moscow. That's an interesting story.

Mr. Ifft, II: Yes, that was really a very interesting feature of this trip. For the past two years, I understand, Mr. Wick has been trying to get into Moscow with a group of editors. And at every Russian legation that we visited during this trip he went to inquire whether permission had been granted.

But they held out very little hope, and I am frank to say that our own State Department officials were very skeptical about the whole thing. But when we finally reached Berlin, word came through that approval had been given. As I understand it, they are to have no interviews and are to be specially conducted, but they are hopeful that they will be entertained, and I am quite sure they will have a fine time.

Mr. Back: Thank you very much, Mr. Ifft, and of course the report from these editors who get to Moscow will be made over ABC

sometime next week under the sponsorship of ABC and Town Meeting and Town Hall.

Now, I want to raise some other questions and perhaps call in some of the other editors who haven't been before the microphone. The first question I want to raise is one that we have been thinking about because of the visit of the French Premier, M. Mayer, and that is whether or not European Defense Community, that army which will include the Germans, the French, the Italians and others in a common uniform, whether you saw any prospect that that will become a reality and not just a dream.

Could I call in one of the editors who hasn't been before the microphone yet, or have you all been before the mike? Yes, here's Mr. Speidel of Visalia, California.

Mr. Speidel: My reaction, I think, is that definitely it will become a reality. Of course there is this feeling between France and Germany. France is scared sick of the Germans—they're probably more scared of the Germans than they are of Russia. Now in talking to Mr. Plevin, Minister of Defense in France, of course he is in favor of the European Defense Community and very definitely feels—I'll rephrase that, I'm not so sure that he definitely feels—he hopes and believes that it will become a reality and that France will go along in that.

Mr. Back: Well, thank very much Mr. Speidel.

Let me address the next question that I haven't reached yet — it probably should have been the earliest one. I want to put it in two parts and I'll ask for volunteers on this. One, do the Europeans and the Middle-Easterners feel that we are farther away from

war now with the Soviet Union, or about where we were, or closer than, say, a year or two ago? Well, let's take the first half of the question first. Who will venture some opinions on that?

Don Rowley again, of Ashtabula, Ohio.

Mr. Rowley: That's a difficult question to answer.

Mr. Back: Well are they afraid?

Mr. Rowley: Well, in most countries I believe the feeling is that we are farther away from war and that every day that goes by means that much more money is in the bank and the more the free countries are secure in building up their strength against attack.

Mr. Back: Well Mr. Rowley, we always hear here that all the Europeans are laggards, they're not pushing the army of the European Defense Community, they want more money, and that Congress is not going to give it to them. They don't have the enthusiasm.

Mr. Rowley: I say that the Germans are working toward that end. I think the French have been invaded so many times, have been kicked around throughout the years, that they are kind of fed up on war, and as one of my friends here said a little while ago, that they're more afraid of the German wolf than they are of the Russian bear. So in each country; because of the nationality and their background, you get a little different opinion.

So I would say generally that most countries feel that war is farther away because of the death of Stalin, but the questions that will bring in, Malenkov coming into power, also the fact that Mao is gaining strength and EDC is virtually going to become a fact, but each day they feel they are getting stronger and the percent-

age is going up on the side of the so-called allies as against the threat of the Red government.

Mr. Back: Mr. Schweider, did you want to come in for a comment on that?

Mr. Schweider: As I observed, it seems to me that there's an indiffer-ent feeling on their part, especially is that true on the part of Austria. Austria expressed the belief that it is up to Russia, and the United States especially, as to what the future would hold for them.

And the same attitude I observed in Italy and in France, that it's not so much what they do as it is what Russia and the United States do that will determine their fate.

Mr. Back: Now we haven't had a chance really to discuss in much detail such matters as your visit with Naguib, the new leader of Egypt, and I understand that you were all quite impressed by him as a personality and by things that he seems to be trying to do for Egypt.

But I'd like to ask you this general question: What do the Europeans and the people in the Middle East expect from us? What are we not doing that we ought to do? You have mentioned some of the things, I think, tonight, but I thought perhaps I could open that up to discussion. Mr. Gius. Would you want to take that first?

Mr. Gius: Mr. Back, I think we're fulfilling our role, as I said in my opening remarks. I think we're fulfilling our role very ably both in Europe and in Egypt. Not in the Middle-Eastern states such as Syria and Lebanon. In Egypt I think it significant that Naguib is particularly interested in economic aid as such. He has there accepted some Point Four aid. He met Ambassador Jefferson Caffery

even while during our time there, signed a new Point Four agreement, and we are there trying to develop—trying to reclaim lands and develop irrigation and power resources. And I think the Egyptian government is extremely grateful for that.

I think it is also interesting to note this attitude on Premier Naguib's part—that he is very, very interested in United States foreign policy now, because he says it is no longer being led by the British.

Mr. Back: Well, thanks very much, Mr. Gius.

Now in the time we have remaining I would like to ask Nicholas Ifft II of the *Pocatello State Journal* in Idaho to summarize the impression of this visiting group.

Mr. Ifft, II: Well I really don't think, Mr. Moderator, that we could have better summaries than those that were given us by Mr. Gius and Miss Stretch. I mean, as far as our general impressions are concerned.

But I do think that we went over there a good deal with the "East is east and west is west" complex, and that we have discovered that human nature is a good deal alike the world over. In fact, I think of Queen Frederika of Greece who pointed out to us that while Turkey and Greece and Yugoslavia had been ancient enemies, they had now joined together in the settlement of their difficulties. And I feel that if those countries can do that, we can do it with the larger countries.

Mr. Back: Thank you very much, Mr. Ifft. On behalf of Town Hall, I want to thank all of you for this timely and stimulating discussion. Tonight, friends, you have

heard Julius Gius, Washigton;
Miss Jane Stretch, Camden, N.J.;
Nicholas Ifft, II, Pocatello, Idaho;
Nicholas Ifft, III, Provo, Utah;
Don Rowley, Ashtabula, Ohio;
Robert Speidel, Visalia, Calif;
Arthur W. Schweider, Idaho Falls,
Idaho; L. L. Coleman, Mobridge,
South Dakota; Ronald Woodyard,
Dayton, Ohio; Lester R. Edwards,
Bradford, Pa., reporting on James
L. Wick's Editors' Tour of Europe

and the Middle East. Our particu-
lar appreciation to Mr. Wick, who
is publisher of daily newspapers
in Niles, Ohio, Roanoke Rapids,
North Carolina, New Iberia,
Louisiana, Bogalusa, Louisiana, and
Rome Italy. Next week—on Wed-
nesday or Thursday night—Town
Hall and ABC will bring you an
exclusive report of the visit of
Mr. Wick and other editors to the
Soviet Union.



"TOWN MEETING BULLETINS" ON RELATED SUBJECTS

The following Town Meeting Bulletins on Europe, the Middle East, and United States foreign policy in these areas, provides a record of informed opinion during recent years. Copies may ordered from Town Hall, New York 36, New York. Bulletins in Volume 15 are 10c each; those in Volumes 17 and 18 are 15c each.

VOLUME 15

- No. 18 "DOES THE ARAB WORLD NEED A MARSHALL PLAN?" Saba Habashy Pasha, Hussein Kamel Selim Bey, John S. Badeau, Clarence R. Decker. (Broadcast from Cairo, Egypt, August 30, 1949.)

VOLUME 17

- No. 6 "IS PEACE POSSIBLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?" Hussein Kamel Selim Bey, Morris L. Ernst, Lord John Wilmot. (June 5, 1951.)
- No. 22 "WESTERN GERMANY'S PLACE IN EUROPE." Heinz L. Krekeler, Saul K. Padover, Patrick J. Hillings. (Broadcast from Oswego, New York, September 25, 1951.)
- No. 30 "EUROPE AND AMERICA: PARTNERS OR RIVALS?" William H. Joyce, Jr., Eldridge Haynes, Adriano Olivetti, W. H. Van Leeuwen. (November 20, 1951.)
- No. 33 "HOW CAN BRITAIN AND AMERICA RECONCILE THEIR DIFFERENCES?" R. W. G. Mackay, Rep. James G. Fulton, Mrs. Edwin F. Russell. (December 11, 1951.)
- No. 41 "IS THE WEST LOSING THE SUPPORT OF THE MIDDLE EAST?" Hon. Hector McNeil, Hussein Kamel Selim Bey, Vincent Sheean, Lionel Gelber. (February 5, 1952.)
- No. 42 "ARE WE TRYING TO DOMINATE OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES?" Louis Fischer, Eldridge Haynes, Henry J. Taylor. (February 12, 1952.)
- No. 47 "SHOULD WE FEAR THE NEW GERMANY?" Cecil Brown, George N. Shuster, Clarence R. Decker. (Broadcast from Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, March 18, 1952.)
- No. 53 "WAS YALTA STALIN'S GREATEST VICTORY?" Chester Wilmot, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (April 29, 1952.)

VOLUME 18

- No. 14 "WHAT NEXT IN THE MIDDLE EAST?" Abed Bouhafa, Ned Russell. (August 19, 1952.)
- No. 19 "SHOULD WE BACK A POLICY OF LIBERATION OR

CONTAINMENT?" Rep. Charles J. Kersten, Clarence R. Decker. (Broadcast from Glencoe, Illinois, September 23, 1952.)

No. "CAN WE HOLD THE WESTERN POWERS TOGETHER?" Rep. Jacob E. Javits, Rep. John M. Vorys. (Broadcast from Chicago, Illinois, February 3, 1953.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

EUROPE—

The Struggle For Europe, by Chester Wilmot, Harper & Brothers, 1952.

"New Force In Europe: The Catholic Left," by Theodore H. White, *The Reporter*, September 16, 1952.

"The United States of Europe, A Hope For Peace," by Beardsley Ruml, *Colliers*, June 21, 1952.

"Is Britain Sabotaging European Unity?" by T. R. Fyvel, *This Week*, May 25, 1952.

"Creating A New Europe—It Must Be Done," by Paul-Henri Spaak, *New York Times*, April 20, 1952.

"What Europe's Businessmen See." *U. S. News & World Report*, February 22, 1952.

"Europe Gets Its Guard Up," by Theodore H. White, *This Week*, January 27, 1952.

"No Cheers In Europe for US Aid," *U. S. News & World Report*, September 21, 1951.

MIDDLE EAST—

Challenge and Response in the Middle East: The Quest for Prosperity, 1919-1951, by Hedley V. Cooke, Harper & Brothers, 1952.

"A Power in Egyptian Politics," by Albion Ross, *N. Y. Times Magazine*, August 3, 1952.

"The Moslem Crescent," by Seymour Freidin and William Richardson, *Collier's*, July 26, 1952.

"Peace May Be in Moslem Hands," by Ron Landau, *N. Y. Times Magazine*, April 6, 1952.

"Must We Surrender the Middle East to Stalin?" by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, *The Saturday Evening Post*, April 12, 1952.

"The U. S. Shapes a Middle East Policy," by Wickham Wells, *The Reporter*, March 4, 1952.

"Six Kingdoms of Oil, The Persian Gulf Strikes It Rich," *Time Magazine*, March 3, 1952.

"What Went Wrong In Iran?" by Henry F. Grady, *The Saturday Evening Post*, January 5, 1952.

"What U. S. Faces in Middle East," an interview with George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary of State, *U. S. News & World Report*, June 29, 1951.

"The Wave of the Future in the Near East," by Charles Issawi, *United Nations World*, November, 1951.